13: Shillong S-3 (1955-1956) 1957 AS? Khasi AS?

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cation is impossible because of the cold climate. In the past, Khasi economy must have remained at a very primitive stage.

Potato cultivation has been much encouraged along with the development of Shillong and the opening of the motor road to Gauhati from Shillong after the Independence of India when Shillong became the seat of the Assam Government, as well as the capital of the Khasi-Jaintia Hills. Shillong has become an important trading centre, where big merchants collect the harvests of potatoes in exchange for rice, clothes and various other goods from the Assam valley. These changes have introduced the Khasis into an active commercial economy which again has brought about various changes in their social life. Recently coal excavations have started in the upland Khasi Hills, and many Khasi became miners.

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Thus the history of the Khasi Hills during the last hundred years has changed a great deal the picture of the Hills. However, dark corners still remain in Bhoi, War and in the area bordering on the Garo Hills. These have been kept in a vacuum between the Hindu civilization of the bordering plain and the modernization of the uplands centred in Shillong. In these areas, the people are still practising primitive jhum cultivation. I have chosen two villages in War located in one of these area as subjects of my major field-work.

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19: Nakane R-5 (1950-1954) 1967 AR? Khasi AR?

Chapter II

VILLAGE COMMUNITY

As models of a Khasi village community, I have taken my data for the discussion presented in this chapter from two villages situated in the Kadashinong area, Sohkynduh and Kongton, with comparative data from Shella and Jotinga villages.

Sohkynduh and Kongton are situated in one of the most secluded spots of the Khasi Hills and the economy is shifting cultivation, with millet as its main product. Only a few Christians are found; most of the population are pagans. Shella is situated on the southern border of the Khasi Hills, adjacent to Pakistan. Jotinga is in the North Cachar Hills, surrounded by patrilineal tribes, such as the Zemi-Naga, the Kuki and the Cacharee. The economy of both villages is pan-leaf and orange cultivation. In Shella, Hindu, Christian and pagan are found among the villagers almost in the same proportions, while the Jotinga villagers are all Christian. The two Kadashinong villages, Shella and Jotinga, differ from one another not only in their religious and economic aspects, but in overt culture, dialect and political organization as well. (Additional information concerning Shella and Jotinga is given in Appendix.) Shella and Jotinga are unique among Khasi villages and quite sophisticated, having been developed under a trading economy, with considerable contacts with other peoples, including Hindus. I selected these villages in order to ascertain how far the structural principle which operates in the Kadashinong villages can be found to act also in totally different economic and environmental situations.

[P. 101]

15: Nakane E-9 (1953-1954) 1967 AR? Khasi AR?

I. Setting and Economic Background of Sohkynduh and Kongton

Sohkynduh and Kongton are villages of the Kadashimong,[1] one of the areas under the Cherra Chief. The Kadashimong is situated on the southern slope of the Khasi Hills, in what is called War country. These two villages are situated at the farthest point from both Shella, the centre bordered by the plain, and Cherrapunjee, the seat of the Cherra Chief, one of the centres of the upland Khasi Hills. The people at Cherrapunjee say that these villages are one of the most backward parts of the Khasi Hills. They correspond to Rombagiri in the Garo Hills, as they lie in the innermost parts and more traditional economic and social settings have been preserved there than in other villages. These are also the reasons why I selected these villages as my field.

It is nine miles to Sohkynduh from Cherrapunjee, crossing two deep valleys towards the east. Kongton is located at the heart of the mountain ranges, ten miles from Cherrapunjee, towards the north-east. It is about twelve miles from Sohkynduh to Kongton, and the way leads through one of the most difficult passes, where even villagers seldom travel. In December, 1953, Sohkynduh was a community of 48 households (List 6), and Kongton of 62 households (List 3). The settlements of both villages are clustered in the southern depressions of a mountain, not far from the summit, a typical location of Khasi villages. Sohkynduh has poor soil, covered with plenty of pieces of stones. The yield therefore is very poor. On the other hand, Kongton, a much older village, enjoys fertile soil, and is one of the most prosperous communities in the Kadashimong.

The major economy of both villages is shifting cultivation. We have already seen, in the chapters on the Garo, the fundamental technique of "jhuming cultivation." The differences between the Garo and the Khasi shifting cultivation are to be found in two aspects: one is the nature of the crops and the other is the type of landownership. In this area, the main crop is millet, while that of the Garo is rice. Besides the shifting cultivation, the Khasi have *pan-leaf* gardens and sometimes pineapple gardens, though on a small scale and not in every household. The most important feature of Khasi shifting cultivation is the development of private ownership. In the tribal areas in Assam, such private ownership of the jhum field is quite an

1. Kadashimong is the name of a group of villages. Its literal meaning is "twelve villages," and it comprises the following villages: Sohkynduh, Rymmai, Mawbawein, Mawshlot, Mawmang, Kongton, Shyntiang, Krohiawhiar, Pdei, Tenshon, Nongpriang, and Diengsaw. (Khasi spelling follows the customary usage in Cherra State.)

19: Nakase K-5 (1955-1956) 1957 ART Khasi ART

necessary. The chances of acquiring a piece of land nowadays are small, except for very successful men, and usually the size of the plot is only just enough to maintain one household. When the land is passed on to the next generation, the youngest daughter will hold the title to it. This fact tends to exclude married elder sisters from the right to use the land, since it is not sufficient for more than one household. Thus the ultimogeniture succession rule seems to have developed more sharply and to have encouraged limited inheritance in conjunction with the shortage of land.

This tendency creates unbalance in the economy of the households within a community. It is a usual picture in Khasi villages, for the bigger and well-built houses to be occupied by the youngest daughter's family, while the elder sisters reside in poor huts. Youngest daughters are usually landowners, while their elder sisters have often to become day-labourers after their marriage, unless their husbands are capable men, or their fathers wealthy enough to give them some share of their acquired property. On the whole, the variations at present between rich and poor are considerable in a Khasi community, in comparison with that of the Garo, where the economic condition of each household in a village is more or less similar. These differences are not only a matter of economic organization but arise from the nature of each social structure.

The economic and social patterns of Sohkynduh and Kongton are very similar, but their dialects are slightly different: my interpreter, who came from Cherrapunjee, could work quite well at Sohkynduh, but at Kongton he found some difficulty, especially with the speech of the old men, and with their religious expressions. The head man of Kongton, who was quite accustomed to the Cherra dialect, acted as an interpreter for us. Such differences in dialect in the Khasi Hills are common phenomena; it is said that every valley has its own dialect. Differences are found not only in speaking, but also, to a certain extent, in culture and in social usages.

II. Village Exogamy

One of the outstanding features of Khasi social organization is the predominant tendency of endogamy on the level of the village, which contrasts with the structural orientation of the Garo village exogamy. This is closely connected with the distributions of clans and the nature of the descent groups.

The Khasi population consists of a number of *kur*, matrilineal clans, whose members consider themselves to be descended from a common ancestress. The members of the same *kur* have a common

15: Nongpoh E-9 (1955-1956) 1961 AR? Khasi AR?

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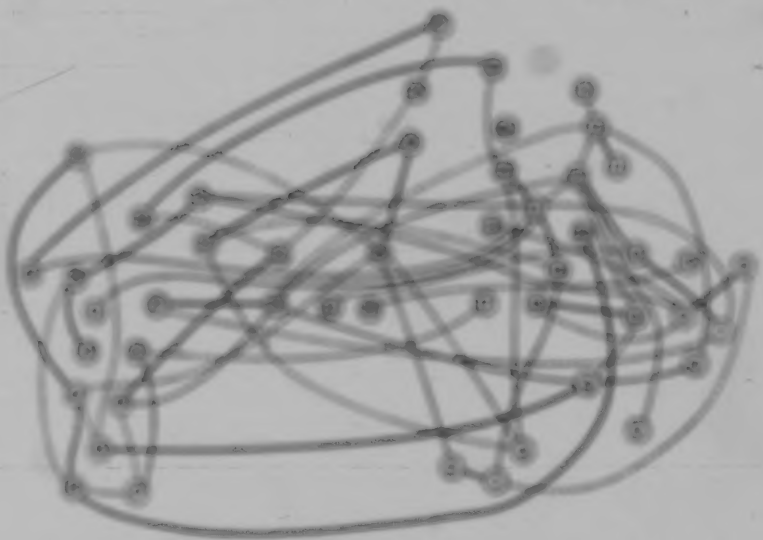

FIG. 10. — *Kinship and Household Location in Sohkyndoh*

——— Matrilineal kinship relations among household-owners
——— Affinal relations (direct) among household-members
- - - - - Affinal relations (indirect) among household-members

particular two families are not restricted to one, but may be accumulated two or three, though I omitted to indicate these in Fig. 10.

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There are some extensions of marriage relations with members outside the village. In Sohkyndoh, out of 88 (48 housewives and 40 their husbands) 13 men and 2 women came from neighbouring villages. Owing to the predominant uxorilocal arrangement, those who came in from outside the village were mostly men. By these members, five different *kur*, new to Sohkyndoh, were found, as shown in List 7 (17-01). Most of these outsiders came from villages inside the Kadashinong, or villages no further than a day's journey there and back. This area might be called a secondary endogamous area, and includes more than half a dozen villages. In Kongton, 20 husbands and 3 women came from neighbouring villages by their marriages. The secondary endogamous areas of Kongton and of Sohkyndoh are not the same but they overlap in certain places, the surrounding areas being centred on each village. There were, by December 1955, no instances of direct marriage between these two villages.

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There are a few exceptions to local endogamy, such as those individuals who have become Christians and are educated in towns like Shillong or Cherrapunjee. They usually move to a town, seeking

15: Nakase K-0 (1955-1956) 1967 AB? Khasi AB?

some clerical work. However, such instances are very rare in these regions and few Christians are to be found among the people. So far as my genealogical table accounts for, only two boys from Sohkynduh, and one girl and one boy from Kongton, left for Shillong, and married there. In contrast to these exceptional cases in these villages, in the upland Khasi Hills, there are considerable changes in the composition of a village with high geographical and social mobility of population because of the spread of Christian education and urban influence.

The people of the two villages say that marriages with outside people were not formally practised, and were only a recent tendency. However, the composition of the population of the two villages showed extensive movements of population in the past (not to urban areas, but from village to village). Such movement is attributed mostly to migration by a family rather than by an individual on marriage. This type of migration is closely found also in the process of the formation of Jaitinga village (see Appendix, Jaitinga).

The composition of the village community and the social characteristics of Sohkynduh and Kongton show very similar features of village endogamy. They seem to be typical of the traditional pattern of Khasi villages. Village endogamy is the intrinsic pattern among the Khasis. This fact can be also observed to a considerable degree in Shella and Jaitinga.

[P. 116 is blank]

592 The Khasi domestic unit (co-residential group) can be divided into four categories:

a. Households consisting of wife, husband and their children, wife's unmarried sisters and brothers—sometimes including widowed or divorced.

[619] c. Households including all members of an ing (excluding their spouses from members of c). In this type, larger households contain all the descendants of three or more generations from one woman (in this case, an ing corresponds to a lineage).

[591] b. Households of [illegible] type between 1 and 2. Husbands are supposed to live in their wife's house, but they often go back to their sister's house for meals, and sometimes sleep there. They are supposed to work in their wife's field but they might work in their mother's (sister's) field, if necessary. This tendency is especially strong among newly married couples before they have a child.

e. Households consisting of only one elementary family. This mostly happens when a man married a non-Khasi.

Most Khasi households are of types 1, 3 and 4 and these three types are usually found within one village. They were found in the four villages in which I worked. It is to these dwelling units that I have given the name of house in Lists 6 and 9. Category 2, according to the information of Khasis and Jaintias, was used to be found among the Jaintias, though nowadays such cases are rapidly decreasing changing into forms 1, 3 and 4. The members of category 2 belong to an ing, which structurally corresponds to the *tarwad* of the Nayar and the *purai* of the Minangkabau.

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178 Category 2 may have been practised among certain of the Khasi a long time ago. Kongton people said that as recently as their father's • 184 generation, there were many husbands who stayed at the mother's 591 house after their marriage and visited the wife at night. Nowadays visiting husbands are very unusual cases in the Khasi Hills, though such situations may occur among newly married couples before they have children. Gurdon, who wrote his book *The Khasis* in 1914, states:

> "Amongst the Khasis, after one or two children are born, and if a married couple get on well together, the husband frequently removes his wife and family to a house she and her husband pool their earnings, which are expended for the support of the family" (p. 76).

In the Khasi Hills, the transition period between duolocal residence and neolocal or uxorilocal residence seems to have been shortened during the last forty or fifty years. This might have been effected through the influence of Christian marriages, which start cohabitation of the wife and the husband immediately after the marriage ceremony. However, in Jatinga whose inhabitants originated in the Jaintia Hills where duolocal marriage is the usual practice, there are even now many instances of a man staying at his mother's house for several

15: Nature E-9 (1955-1956) 1969 ART Khasi ART

years after his marriage. During this period he works in his wife's field, then, if the couple gets on well, they start to live together in an independent house (non-heiress's case) or in the wife's house (heiress's case). In spite of the fact that the inhabitants are all Christians, they have retained this custom.

It is difficult to determine at what date the Khasi people have changed from duolocal marriage to uxorilocal marriage. However, the present dwelling unit, with its fluid relationship between husband and wife (in fact, there are many cases of category 3), suggests a situation linked with the duolocal residence pattern. The fragmentary historical information available and the present Khasi residence pattern suggest that the duolocal arrangement may be an older pattern of marriage. When I was in Kongton there was no husband who stayed at his mother's house permanently, visiting his wife at night. The head man told me that, when he married, there were many who did not stay in the wife's house. He was the first person to settle in the wife's house. In his case, he said, he felt sympathy for his wife who had no brother who could work for her. After he had settled in his wife's house, many villagers began to follow his example.[1] When the pattern of a visiting marriage was in vogue, a village must have constituted a more compact endogamous unit. If the husband's house was in another village, a visiting marriage must have been a great inconvenience. The tendency to settle in the wife's house and work for the wife's house must have brought about a wider range of marriage contracts, such as with members of nearby villages, even though in the present form of marriage, village endogamy is much preferred as it is decidedly advantageous particularly for a husband, since he can continue his life in the same familiar environment in spite of uxorilocal marriage.

The variations in the pattern of co-residential grouping, which I have classified into four categories, reflect two different themes in the social structure of the Khasi. On the one hand they represent different stages in the maturity of the individual families concerned. For example, a householder who starts in category 3 or 4 may end as an old man in category 1. On the other hand these variations also reflect the polar opposition between the obligations of matrilineal kinship and the obligations of parenthood: a man, in particular, has conflicting obligations towards the *ing* of his sister and the *ing* of

1. However, all the information which I collected in the upland Khasi Hills indicates that the uxorilocal residence pattern has been practised for a long time. According to stories often told by the Kongton people, they migrated from the Jaintia Hills. If these accounts are to be taken as a reflection of the real history of their migration, it would seem that the Kongton people may have kept up the Jaintia custom including the duolocal residence pattern up to recent times, while the majority of the Khasi practised uxorilocal marriage.

whom he can marry, he has to endure his miserable family life, while
often in the same village his former wife is living in a well-built house
with her children and her matrilineal relatives as before. Households
of 3, 13 and 30 ri Sohkynduh in List 6, and 23, 29, 38 and 58 of Kongtun
in List 5 are instances of such cases. It is easy to picture to
our mind a man, aged and poor, living all alone.

V. Marriage with the Non-heiress

Outsiders who come to the Khasi Hills are often impressed by the
Khasi husband's miserable status and express surprise at the high
divorce rate. This is mostly due to exaggeration based on the mar-
riage with the heiress. However, when a man marries a non-heiress,
there are many successful marriages with paternal authority. In most
of these cases a man's status as a husband and as a father is stable.
First of all, the domestic residential unit is an elementary family.
From the onset of the marriage the husband's labour is of great import-
ance to his family, since a non-heiress usually has no economic
background, i.e., no dowry or inherited property (see p. 109). The
economic circumstances allow a man to be the *de facto* head even
though whatever he earns belongs, as a rule, to his wife. A man who
succeeds at the beginning of his married life is respected and honoured
as father in his family for the rest of his life. By this type of marriage,
the man's status is firmly established. It is therefore a more secure
form of marriage than a match with an heiress.

In such a marriage the children love and obey their father. The
management of his acquired property will be taken over by his son
and the property will be handed over to his daughter. Thus the
paternal authority is as well established in this form of domestic
family, as in a patrilineal family. However, the great difference from
a patrilineal case is that the husband/father status is not permanent
as the authority of the family. Theoretically he exercises it in the
absence of a male adult member of his wife's *iing* (actually founded
by his contribution), in other words, till his son is grown up (see p. 16).
In the next generation this will form an established *iing* in which the
husband of his youngest daughter will suffer again.

The household of this kind of marriage with a non-heiress actually
enjoys a considerable degree of independence from the descent groups
of both wife and husband. If a man who has established a matri-
monial life independent of his wife's natal *iing*, is not the authority of
his natal *iing*, his relation with the latter usually becomes weaker.
Economic and residential factors make it possible for the men to make
the considerable shift from his *iing* to his wife's *iing*, and though

after divorce or husband's death, the Khasi woman stays on in her kwetbriéit. Indeed many divorced or widowed poor wives, whose children are still small, try their best to live and bring up their children by themselves without asking their brothers' help. Of course a mother and her small children may go back to live in her natal *siang*. Such cases are found particularly when the woman's *siang* is rich. However, during my field work, I found no cases of psychological inferiority in Khasi women, widows or divorcées, such as we usually find in other societies. The personality of the individual seems to reflect the social structure.

Given such strong residential independence on the part of the non-heiress, economically divorced from her descent group, and oriented towards sociological separation from it, the husband's economic and social contribution is handsomely rewarded by the establishment of a stable, happier, matrimonial life. In fact, as already mentioned, the divorce rate among such couples is very low contrasted with the high rate among marriages with heiresses. More accurately, I should say that divorce is more likely to occur among the latter owing to the conflict of loyalties towards spouse and *siang*. Therefore, when such partner has less loyalty towards his or her natal *siang*, the divorce cases become correspondingly fewer. Thus, among the Khasi, successful marriages are frequently found where there is branching off from an *siang*. And a new *siang* is always established by a husband's contribution.

Khasi men, who are well aware of this fact, prefer to marry a non-heiress, since they will then form an independent household and remain immune to pressure from their wife's kin. However, they say a poor or lazy man prefers marriage with an heiress. As Richards said of the matrilineal Central Bantus, the residence on marriage seems to be a most important index of the husband's status, though the determining factors of the residence of the Khasi differ from those of the Bantus (see p. 124).

In the case of marriage with an heiress, when the wife dies, the husband usually returns to his *siang* (the youngest sister's house). But in marriage with a non-heiress the husband often remains with his children, if his children are not too small and he is not planning to marry any woman other than his late wife's younger sister. If he marries his wife's younger sister, he has the right to stay on. This kind of sororal marriage cannot take place in the case of a man married to an heiress, since a Khasi man is not allowed to marry the late wife's elder sister. This form of sororate is found among the Khasi, but the levirate is unknown, such as can be seen among the Ashanti and the Ila, where a man takes his late brother's wife. Among the Khasi, even if a widow happened to marry her late husband's

19: Nakase E-6 (1955-1956) 1957 AR? Khasi AR?

Thus, the marriage of a non-heiress and a man of authority also produces an unstable position for the husband in spite of his having an independent household. Therefore, the possibility of a really stable marriage is even more limited, it will occur only in the match of a non-heiress and a non-authority of the *sing*. But even these marriages cannot be free from the influence of a matrilineal social structure: the man of authority of the wife's *sing* may visit these couples now and then, curb the husband's power and remind both partners of the orientation towards the matri-kin, the *sing*, though this pressure is insignificant in comparison with that experienced by the heiress's family. Likewise, a husband now and then visits his youngest sister's house, *ka sing* son. These constant matrilineal contacts offer husbands chances of escaping from even the slightest matrimonial tensions. Whenever a Khasi man feels uneasiness, he will return to his sister's house rather than face a difficult situation with his wife. This tendency is maximized especially on the occasion of religious ceremonies, when all individuals are grouped around each *sing*.

It is apparent that the rules of the *sing* as the underlying structural pattern, function throughout the various categories of domestic unit of the Khasi community as the most important intrinsic force.

VII. Polygyny

After this long attempt at the structural analysis of marriages, I think one can theoretically predict what is the situation of polygyny among the Khasi. The theoretical framework elaborated through preceding discussions can also be tested by the empirical data in terms of polygyny.

Nowadays, the Khasi feel so strongly against polygyny that they have no knowledge even that they ever practised it. Many Khasi, in more sophisticated areas, did not believe my findings on polygyny in Sohkynduh and Kongton. I think this is due to the rapid Christianization of the Hills during the last hundred years. My interpreter, though he was not Christian, said to me in the village, "it is most regrettable to bring you to a village where we find polygyny." However, one of the ministers of the Cherra State to which the two villages belong, told me that there was no particular opposition to polygyny, though recent Christian influence gave people the idea that it was a shameful custom, and he mentioned the case of a polygynist in his *ava*, a man who had recently died, who had had ten wives. In Jatinga whose inhabitants are all Christian, and in Shella where there has been much contact with, and influence by, Hindus, there were

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

118 no polygynists, though there were many personal temporary illicit relations or love affairs.

• 184 595 It is true that even in interior villages polygyny is rapidly decreasing. In the two villages I found only two cases of polygyny: a man with two wives in Sohkynduh (Josio in List 6, whose wives are 26 and 32), and a man with three wives in Kongton (Jubongrai in List 9, whose wives are 8, 20 and 52). These cases appeared clearly as cases of polygyny which the villagers recognized as such, speaking of them quite differently from the way they would have spoken of lovers, calling them wives and husbands. Of course, the first wife socially outranks the secondary wives, as *ka iynga trai*, and the term *ka iynga tuk* is used for the latter, as Gurdon states (1914, p. 80). The difference being that the first wife has a legal marriage ceremony while the others have not—*ka iynga tuk* means literally 'stolen wife.' About 585 595 the marriage ceremony, Gurdon gives a detailed discription (*ibid.*, pp. 127-130) and says there are three forms of marriage ceremonies, *Pynkiarsyajat*, *Lawduh* and *Iadih-kiad*. The first and second forms are considered the more respectable; the last one is resorted to by the very poor who cannot afford the greater expense entailed by the first two. Unfortunately, during my stay in these villages, no marriage ceremony took place, but villagers described to me what seems to be the *Iadih-kiad*, where only a fowl is sacrified, and the whole procedure is much simpler than that described by Gurdon. However, whatever the complexity and richness may be, there is a distinct line between having a ceremony and not having it, and this draws the distinction between the status of the first wife and that of the secondary wives.

428 595 851 Nevertheless, this distinction has more of a social bearing than the legal bearing it has in a patrilineal system. Since they follow the matrilineal system, the legal distinction between the first wife and the secondary wife does not affect their children's status and their property rights, at least not in the villages where I worked. The children's social locus is determined by their mother. The children (particularly the youngest daughter) have the right to inherit their father's acquired property which is automatically under their mother's ownership. If the polygynist father has acquired property by working their mother's field, or in trading on behalf of their mother, whether she be the first wife or the second, this property undoubtedly belongs to the children of that wife, not to the first wife alone. The father's physical locus at the time of his economic realisations is the decisive factor.

591 595 The Khasi polygynist, without bringing his wives into one household, alternates his residence among them, in turn or according to his temper. This practice is similar to that of the Trukese described by Goodenough (1951, p. 123), and quite different from that of the Garo

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

APPENDIX

SOME ADDITIONAL INFORMATION FROM SHELLA AND JATINGA

Shella

Shella is situated on the lowest of the southern slopes of the Khasi Hills, bordering on the Sylhet plain of East Pakistan. For centuries the people of Shella maintained close trading connections with the people of the plain, so that they have been much influenced by the Hindu. They have been to some extent divorced economically and culturally from their own people who live in the uplands and on higher part of the slopes. Actually, this is a natural result of their geographical location. From Cherrapunjee, the southern edge of the upland Khasi Hills, only a narrow footpath goes down to Shella. The altitude of Cherrapunjee is about 5,000 feet and of Shella from 500 to 1,000 feet, and the distance between them is 8 miles. The path descends very steeply and is full of hard stones. This difficulty of communication is also why the Hindu influence did not penetrate the upland Khasi, as in the case of the Jaintia Hills.[1]

This area has a unique political organization which differs from the majority of Khasi states who are traditionally ruled by the members of the Siem clan. Shella is organized as a confederation, called "Shella Confederacy," and consists of four local villages. The head of the village is called *wadadkar*, and is elected by the villagers every three years. The number of households of the Shella Confederacy was about 900 in January 1956. The names of the four villages and their *wadadkar* in 1956 were:

Name of village	*Name of wadadkar*
1. Shella	Devish Mohan Roy
2. Mushtoh	Ditojou Roy
3. Nongtrai	Orju Roy
4. Tyngngar	Jabuni Roy

Each village is divided into sections. For instance, Shella village has nine sections: (1) Jasir, (2) Diseng, (3) Duba, (4) Jamao, (5) Nongrum, (6) Nongnong,

1. However, Shella was the only way out and the main gateway from the Khasi Hills to the plain; it was here that the British first entered the Khasi Hills. They proceeded from Shella to Cherrapunjee and made the latter headquarters of the Khasi Hills in 1833.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

Shella

Confederacy forms a more marked endogamous community, through being cut off geographically and economically from the rest of the Khasi, and socially from the neighbouring Hindu people. 621

The Economy and the People.

Shella lies along the upper part of the Shella River and stretches upwards along the steep slope, looking down towards the Bengal plain. The climate of this part of the hills is considered to be one of the worst in tropical India for human habitation. The Bengal plain, though warmer than this area, is considered more healthy. This border land is the zone of malaria, typhoid, black fever, cholera, etc. None of the Bengalee peasants dare to live in such an area. However, it is the most fertile for products such as betel-nuts, pan-leaves, oranges, bananas and pineapples, and it also produces limestone. These people seem to prefer to settle in this zone and to enjoy its prosperity, at the expense of human lives: every year, especially between March and September, the inhabitants suffer from various fevers and dysentry and other diseases, many of the weaker facing death. 131 132 164 433 164 648

Before the Partition of India and Pakistan, the products of Shella were carried down the Shella River to Sylhet, one of the biggest centres in East Bengal, which brought unimaginable wealth to the Shella people. Their houses were built by carpenters from Sylhet. The style and structure of these houses were exceptionally elaborate for the Khasi. They purchased vast rice fields in the plain, which used to be cultivated by Bengalee and Garo labourers engaged by them. These Khasi do not themselves know how to cultivate rice fields; they have always been managers or landowners. Their boys used to be sent to high schools and colleges in Sylhet. As a result of their trading with the Bengalee, many of them read and speak fluent Bengalee. There is no difference between their style of clothing and that of the Bengalee, though the women maintain their traditional dress in the Shella style. 177 178 434 [439] [342] [166] [464] [874] [191] [291]

They have thus been distinguished from the rest of the Khasi not only geographically, but also economically and culturally. Their personality also differs sharply from the rest of the Khasi. They are very sociable, and quick, a quality lacking among the Khasi of Sohkynduh and Kongton. They are clever enough to deal with strangers. The upland Khasi say Shella people are very cunning. This remark shows one side of these people. They had to be cunning, since they traded with the Sylhet Bengalee who were said to be the most cunning of their race. Their role in the trade and in the history of the modernization of the Hills was considerable. For centuries they represented intellectual Khasi owing to their contact with Hindu civilization, while the Hills remained in darkness. They assumed an important role when the British established an administration in the Hills, and even up to now, many leading Khasi originated from this area: for instance, Lati Hat, the first interpreter of the British Headquarters at Cherrapunjee; Jeebon Roy, who was the first Magistrate among the Khasi; Maham Sing, a lawyer and Member of the Legislative Assembly (the grandson of Jeebon Roy); Nichols Roy, Minister of Health and Prisons of the Assam Government, Member of the Legislative Assembly, and Missionary of the Church of God; R. R. Thomas (brother of Nichols Roy), Principal of the Gauhati University, etc. 157 184 648 177 178 [439]

Through constant cultural contact with Hindu, and encouraged by their economic prosperity, the Shella Khasi, like the Jaintias, have been much influenced by Hindu culture. However, this does not mean that the people of Shella adopted the Hindu beliefs. Though there is a small Hindu shrine, and some ceremonial elements were borrowed from the Hindu, most of the 177 648 771 795

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

621 descent grouping are often different. This is a very similar pattern to the
• [184] mobility which I discussed in Sohkynduh and Kongton (see p. 112).

One of the outstanding features in this community is the strong paternal
178 authority, established especially in the first generation, because the father's
593 (husband's) contribution was very important in such circumstances: their
61 domestic units were completely independent from the *iing* either of husband
621 or wife. Some of them came with their wives, and many younger ones and their sons brought their wives from their homeland afterwards, thus practising virilocal marriage.

They have an interesting social usage which reflects the importance of the husband of the first generation. This is the addition of the name of the husband of the first generation to the matrilineal clan name in order to differentiate each particular descent group established at Jatinga within the same clan. For instance, Rupsi-Tah, Rupsi-Loh, Rupsi-Khla and Rupsi-Lati are found in the Rupsi clan. Rupsi-Tah is one of the lines of the first immigrants to Jatinga, which I have mentioned as Rupsi: Tah was taken from Pryntah, the husband of Sintu (Rupsi) (see p. 171). Thus the present inhabitants of Jatinga are very conscious of their father or grandfather, though they strictly follow the matrilineal descent rule. From such a usage of naming a clan, the Indian officer, who gave me some information about Jatinga before I went there, made the mistaken deduction that they had changed from matrilineal to patrilineal, assuming this to have come about as a result of the influence of patrilineal tribes around Jatinga. But this is simply due to the fact, firstly, that they hold in high regard the man of the first generation, because of his great contribution; secondly, that they distinguish themselves from members of the same clan according to the descent group established at each immigration; in other words, it indicates each *iing* grouping in the village.

178 The fundamental Khasi social organization based on the matrilineal system
184 did not change at all. I could observe in Jatinga exactly the same principle in action as I had found in Sohkynduh and Kongton. The village endogamy
582 has also been well established in the present generation: there are about 20 dif-
61 ferent clans which can intermarry, and taking a spouse from an outside com-
621 munity has become very rare nowadays. Marriage patterns in relation to the *iing* structure and all its related aspects are surprisingly similar to that of the communities in the Khasi Hills. The solidarity of the *iing* is even greater in Jatinga, particularly among the rich, because of the greater accumulation of wealth and greater economic activity, which also increases the authority of the *iing* as manager of considerable property—this was also the case with the Shella people. Jatinga demonstrates that in spite of colonization and of a significant change in economic activities, Khasi social organization has maintained itself intact. This situation is in contrast with the considerable social changes observed among the Garo community in colonial areas like Rinsibara and Joshipara.

621 ***Intermarriage.***

178 From the earliest period of the establishment of Jatinga up to the present,
582 some changing aspects of marriage patterns relating to intermarriages are to
563 be observed.

As I stated before, in the earlier period, the people used to bring their spouses from their homeland, but they also married neighbouring tribal peoples, namely,
563 the Zemi-Naga, the Kuki and the Cacharee of villages close to Jatinga, and
621 also the Lushai, the Bengalee, the Moslem and the Anglo-Indian who lived in Haflong, the biggest political and commercial centre in the Hills, situated

group of matrilineal and Mon-Khmer-speaking people who claim as their ancestral homeland the present-day United Khasi-Jaintia Hills District (within approximately 90° 47' and 92° 52' E. and 25° 5' and 26° 5' N.). This group includes the Jaintias (also Pnar or Synteng) in the southeast, who differ from the Khasis primarily in their duolocal residence pattern and less virulent forms of sorcery. (The Hadem in eastern Jaintia are a Kuki people.) It also includes the Lyngngams (also spelled Lynngam) in the west, who practice migratory swidden agriculture and certain peculiar funerary rites, and are said by Ehrenfels (1955) to be culturally intermediate between Khasis and Garos. Finally, it includes Bhois, Wars, and upland Khasis, which terms are primarily territorial. Bhoi country is the north-central part of the District, and is culturally complicated by the presence of Mikirs, Lahungs, and Nepalis. War country spans the entire southern length of the District, so that Wars divide into Jaintia Wars and Khasi Wars; of these, the Khasi Wars have traditionally transmitted property to sons as well as to daughters. The upland center of the District is the country of the Khasis proper, those whose culture provides the most useful model for interpreting the variations found elsewhere. [For general reference on all categories of Khasi culture, cf. Costa 1936 and 1937; also Gurdon 1907, especially for data on regional variations.] **Geography.** The District is 5,534 square miles of hilly tableland, intricately dissected by numerous rivers, and marked by significant ecological variation over very short distances. The tablelands step gently downward north from Shillong Peak, which at 6,445 feet is the highest point in the District, and over about 55 miles ease into the Brahmaputra valley where this is some 250 feet above sea level. To the south, the land slopes more steeply downward for about 20 miles, and then drops abruptly, in cliff and steep-slope formations, to the Ganges sea-level delta that begins at its north with Sylhet. The annual southwest monsoons drop torrential rains around Cherrapunji and Mawsynram villages (for Cherrapunji, a record 805 inches in 1861), but then, reaching Shillong 33 miles to the northeast, provide only about 100 inches per year. Rainfall is again greater in Bhoi, which shares the Brahmaputra valley climate. Climate is temperate on the high Shillong plateau, where it seldom freezes and never snows. To the north, climate becomes subtropical, forest is jungly, and fauna abound. The climate to the south is also subtropical. [Cf. Hooker 1891: chap. XXIX.] **Linguistic affiliation.** Khasi is one of the major Mon-Khmer languages, related to Mon, Khmer, Semang-Sakai, Nicobarese, and Palaung-Wa. The major Khasi dialects are Khasi, Jaintia, and Lyngngam, to which Grierson adds War. Further minor variations occur from village to village. The Khasis had no script until 1842, when the roman alphabet was successfully applied to the Cherrapunji dialect of Khasi proper. [Cf. Rabel 1961; Grierson 1903-28: 2; Bareh 1962.]

101 131 197 101 184 162 563 [91] [54] [24] [764] [119] [428] [113] 133 [131] 132 [113] 197 [212] [113]

16: McCormack E-4,5 (1956-1958) 1964
[P. 107 B] AR7 Khasi AR7

pendable water supply. Villages are about two to five miles apart, and have no boundary markers. In the past, villages contained semipublic buildings and grounds: the home of the village priest (also the home of a chief if he resided in that village), the village marketplace, and tree graves, cremation grounds, or other awesome spots that were believed to be inhabited by supernatural beings. Villages today may have also one or more Christian churches, government social welfare buildings, and schools. Formerly, villages were entered through a guarded gateway; this is no longer the case, and paths feed into villages from all directions. Often several villages are nucleated into one large unit, named and also described as a "village." These were once defense units, but were so uncohesive otherwise that institutionalized rivalry obtained among the component villages. Now, they have been integrated through the agency of all-village public services, especially schools. **Housing.** The traditional Khasi house is entered through a door at the rounded end of a U-shaped ground plan, and is about 20 feet at widest extent; it is about 30 feet deep and is elliptical or hogback in profile. Its walls are of stone blocks cemented with mud. The roof of grass thatch, supported by a bamboo frame, overhangs the walls on their outside, down to about three feet above the ground. The house is divided into two parts: the front one-third is on the ground level, floored either with stone blocks or tamped earth, and is used for storage of occupational instruments and as a shelter for poultry. The rear two-thirds is raised four feet on piles of stone blocks to a platform of planks, and is partitioned into six rooms, comprising a kitchen, areas for storage of food and water, and sleeping quarters. Furniture is minimal, and the house is totally undecorated. There are no windows, and no smoke vents. A house generally has a companion shed, walled of wood and grass matting and thatched with grass. This serves as a pigsty, but it may be partitioned also to house cows, and it may have a loft for fuel storage. Compounds often contain garden plots, and are fenced around with stone or bamboo and mud. Nowadays, the traditional house has given way to Western-style bungalows of wood and tin, especially in and around Shillong. [Cf. Mukherjee et al. 1941.]

ECONOMY. The Khasi economy is a market economy based on agriculture, and most Khasis are primary producers, sellers, middlemen, and/or providers of services in connection with markets. Khasis are often multioccupational: they produce goods for partial subsistence, and also play some part in trade. **Agriculture.** On the Shillong plateau, the major field crops are potatoes, maize, millets, and dry rice, still produced mostly through swidden farming, with a two- to three-year period of fallow, but increasingly through continuous use of a single field with the aid of ma-

16: McCormack E-4,5 (1956-1958) 1964
[P. 108A] AR 7 Khasi AR 7

mure and chemical fertilizers. Both level land and hillsides are cultivated by the same hand techniques: 3 × 6-foot patches are fashioned with walkways between, sods are overturned within the patches and allowed to dry, the sods are burned slowly and the ashes spread over the soil, and finally the seed is sown, either broadcast or sunk with the aid of the typical Khasi hoe. The coldest part of the upland enjoys a two-crop year, and Khasis often double crop as well. Paddy has long been found in the lowlands, in parts of Jaintia and Bhoi, the only places where the plow is found. Nowadays paddy is more and more seen in the uplands, together with a simple terracing and irrigation technology. Many upland Khasis have house gardens in which they raise a wide variety of vegetables, including pumpkins, cabbage, radishes, sweet potatoes, eggplant, and many others. Important crops in Bhoi country are paddy rice, lac, caoutchouc, cotton, bananas, and pineapples; in War, they are betel nut, pan leaf, oranges, and sugar cane. **Fishing and hunting.** Fishing is done by poisoning streams, but this is a subsistence activity only in the southern foothills. Hunting was formerly by bow and arrow or by traps, including spring guns and pitfalls, but was always primarily a sport. [Cf. Stegmiller 1925.] **Gathering.** Khasis once gathered about 150 species of wild plants, most of them for food, but some for medicine. Thrifty villagers still gather food plants, but there is no real dependence on gathering. Medicinal plants continue to be very important. **Domestic animals.** Fowl, goats, pigs, and cattle are bred both for meat and sacrifice. Milk was formerly not utilized, but is now so popular that specialists keep herds of milch cows. Pigs are used as village scavengers, but some also receive prepared food. Cattle and goats forage freely in the fields during the winter, but are herded by a communally hired herdsboy during the agricultural season. Most households keep chickens, primarily for their eggs, and a few keep ducks. A few horses are also seen. Dogs are pariahs, except for hunting dogs. Cats are popular. **Food and stimulants.** The staple food of Khasis is boiled rice, together with the dried fish which is imported from Sylhet. Boiled beef, pork, and chicken are relished, but beyond the means of most. Meals are taken twice a day, in the morning and evening, although farmers also take a midday meal in the field, and others may take tea and cold sweet potatoes or rice bread. Certain foods are taboo to certain sibs. Stimulants are extremely common, especially betel nut, which is often accompanied by a bit of tobacco. Tobacco is also smoked as cigarettes and in hookah and other pipes. Every village has one or more household taverns, where distilled rice whisky is cooked and sold by the glass and by the bottle. Imported opium had spread widely in the malarious Bhoi country, but controls instituted in the 1940s have been fairly successful. All stimulants were once taken by men, women, and

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children, but Christian influence has eradicated or driven underground the consumption by women and children. **Industrial arts.** The only industrial arts traditionally practiced in all households were a rudimentary carpentry and a simple utilitarian basketry. Other arts were few, and were practiced as village specialties: the washing and smelting of iron ore and the forging of hoes, daos, knives, swords, and cooking pots (upland Khasis); the spinning of cotton thread (Mynso village, Jaintia); the dyeing of cotton thread and the weaving of cloth (Jaintias, Bhois, Lyngngams, Wars); the spinning and weaving of Eri silk (Khyrwang and Nongtung villages, Bhoi and Jaintia); and the hand manufacture, without wheel, of painted earthenware pots (Larnai village, Jaintia). Ironworking and the production of cotton goods have nearly died out through the competition of machine-made goods. Carpentry has greatly improved. An innovation of major importance is the sewing and tailoring, on sewing machines, of ready-made garments for both sexes. [Cf. Darrah 1896; C., W. 1832.] **Trade.** Khasi villages normally contain a number of household shops operated by women. Every Khasi also lives within walking distance of several village markets that are held on successive days of the eight-day week. The limits of market intercourse for the members of any particular village can be roughly distinguished by their naming the days of their week, which are called after the active markets. The exception is the huge market at Shillong, much of which is active daily, and which serves as a magnet for Khasis from all over the hills. The traditional barter has given way to currency in all markets. The small ones contain at least some local farm produce, plus other essentials like betel nut, and the food and tea stalls which serve as centers of social intercourse. The big markets contain not only regional produce and manufactures but also products from distant parts of the hills, brought for sale by traveling middlemen. There is also substantial trade, from the hills to the valleys, in potatoes, pears, hides, lac, cotton, caoutchouc, the wood of the sal tree, Eri silk thread, limestone, coal, ivory, bay leaf, betel nut, pan leaves, bananas, sugar cane, oranges, til, turmeric, and chilies. From the plains to the hills, there is trade in dried fish, paddy rice, salt, cooking oil, kerosene, matches, tea, sugar, wheat flour, machine-made cloth, shoes, metal pots, crockery, porcelain objects, coral beads, silver, and gold. Markets are important not only as economic institutions but also as centers for recreation (including archery competitions), courtship, reaffirmation of kinship ties with distant relatives, and the dissemination of information of all kinds. [Cf. Stegmiller 1924a.] **Division of labor.** Men do the heavy work, such as clearing and burning the swidden fields, caring for cattle and goats and driving them to market, butchering and selling large cuts of beef and pork, carpentry and mining, and driving and laboring on motor vehicles. They also tailor men's

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ing from the time it consists of an elementary family until it grows to a local descent group four generations deep. [Cf. Chattopadhyay 1941.] **Kin terminology.** The terms of address given below are also terms of reference except where otherwise indicated, and are uniform for male and female speakers. They were collected in an upland Khasi village near Shillong (cf. Ehrenfels 1953 for some regional variants). [114]

Fa	*pa*
Mo	*mei*
FaElBr	*pasan*
FaYoBr	*pakhynnah*
FaSi	*kha*
Fa youngest Si	*khaduh*
MoElSi	*meisan*
MoYoSi	*meinah*
Mo youngest Si	*meiduh*
MoElBr	*mama, kni*
MoYoBr	*bah* (ref.: *kni*)
ElBr	*bah khynnah*
Eldest Br	*kong bah*
YoBr	*bah deng*
Youngest Br	*bah duh*
ElSi	*deng*
Eldest Si	*lud, kong*
YoSi	*lud nah, lud rit*
Youngest Si	*khatduh*
MoSiSo, MoSiDa	*para* (ref.: *para ar kmie*)
FaBrSo, FaBrDa	*para* (ref.: *parakha*)
MoBrSo, MoBrDa, FaSiSo, FaSiDa	*bakha*

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY. **Mode.** According to the traditional courtship pattern, a group of young male relatives and friends made nightly visits to the house of some virgin girl in another village, appraising her through banter while she and her parents appraised them, and staying the night to avoid the dark walk home. Marriage was according to the wishes of the parents after negotiation by a go-between from the boy's side. Girls might be 15, and boys 17, years of age. Girls have now acquired freedom of movement through attending school, however. Premarital sexual play is common, and young people choose their own spouses when the girl is about 19 and the boy 21. The most common mode of marriage is elopement, for Christians and non-Christians alike, but some Christians marry in church, and some Khasis still marry according to the traditional ceremony or some variation on it. There are no preferred or prescribed marriage types, nor is there a bride price or dowry. **Form.** Monogamy is the ideal for all. **Extension of incest taboos.** Sibs are exogamous. Other prohibited marriage partners are real and classificatory FaSi and FaBr, FaBrCh, FaMo, and FaMoMo. The MoBrWi is also prohibited. Roy [114]

household deities, and measles and smallpox deities. 776
Deities of the first two categories are simply aspects 771
of the high God or Goddess. • The earth is peopled with two great orders of land demons and water demons who cause all undesirable, unnatural, and otherwise inexplicable events, acting either on their own or as instruments in the hands of sorcerers. Apart from omens, both in nature and in dreams, 787
Khasis attach supernatural significance also to mystic 822
numbers, and to the colors white, black, and red. They hold especially important folk beliefs regarding 824
betel nut, paddy rice, gold and silver, and clothing.
Practitioners. The two classes of religious practitioners are the village or state priests and the sacrificers. 791
Both are male. They use the same divinatory techniques of reading broken eggshells and the entrails 793
of cocks, and they both sacrifice cocks, hens, goats, pigs, and cattle. 754
Their skills are not taught to them so much as picked up by observation and confirmed by demonstrations of efficacy. A priest is elected from among the men of his sib to direct his skills to the public good until he dies, and his rewards are institutionalized and come from the village or the state. A sacrificer acts for private persons or kin groups, on call, and is rewarded by them personally with gifts in cash or in kind. The sacrificer is called upon to explain and then to ritually remedy every variety of misfortune, especially illness, though his powers are nowadays regarded with ambivalence, and he is widely expected to become a sorcerer sooner or later. • There are two major types of sor- 754
cerer. One is the ritual specialist or sacrificer who secretly turns his skills from good to evil, manipulating demons to injure a person or kin group, and acting always for himself alone out of considerations of jealousy or revenge. The other is normally a leading citizen, a woman who is so wealthy and successful that it is believed that she must keep a *thlen*, i.e. a creature which will bring her prosperity as long as she feeds it periodically with human blood. To provide this blood, the men of her household, or other males whom she bewitches with a special whisky, will indiscriminately murder anyone except a mem- [184]
ber of her matrilineage. The Jaintias have an analogue to the *thlen* in their *taro*, except that the ultimate result is death from illness rather than murder. Minor witchcraft can be perpetrated by poison keepers or persons with an evil eye, who are often women.
Ceremonies. The important traditional 843
ceremonies were the life-crisis rituals relating to 844
pregnancy and childbirth, the naming of a child, and 553
death. Lesser ceremonies related to marriage and 764
divorce, and to housebuilding. All these rituals were 585
addressed primarily to the ancestors, and they are 586
still performed in modified form by many Khasis. 342
Other rituals, which were performed by groups such 769
as villages, sibs, local descent groups, or households, 178
were addressed to the unnamed aspects of the high 782

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[For the differences between Border area, Project area and General area, see category 116 passim.]

Name of village (1)	Name of society (2)	Sponsored by (3)
7. Sutnga ...	(1) Credit Society.	Local people
	(2) Co-operative Trading Society.	
8. Darrang ...	Marketing Society.	Do
9. Shella ..	Trading Co-operative Society.	Do.

4.10 **Cottage Industries.**—It has already been mentioned that Village and Cottage Industries are not very popular in the district.

The following table shows the industries reported from the sample villages:—

TABLE B-9

Industry (1)	No. of villages reporting existence of the industries. (2)	No. of villages reporting production for sale. (3)
Cane and bamboo works ...	9	7
Blacksmithy	5	5
Tailoring	2	2
Handloom	...	...
Weaving and Spinning ...	3	1
Rearing of cocoons, etc. ...	1	1
Rearing of lac	1	1
Others	2	1

Blacksmithy and making of baskets, cane products, etc, out of cane and bamboo, are a traditional occupation Weaving and spinning of cotton, rearing of endi cocoon and weaving of endi, etc., are in vague only in the Bhoi area and the areas adjoining Kamrup and North Cachar and Mikir Hills districts. Lac rearing is found in the northern portion of the district, *i.e.*, Nongpoh area.

Except cane and bamboo works and blacksmithy other industries are practised in a very limited scale. There is thus a lot of scope for introducing cottage industries in the district.

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR 7 Khasi AR 7

428 to the sisters of his wife, or to her nearest relatives if there are no sisters. The rank and titles of a deceased male descend to his brother; when no brother exists, then to the male children of his mother's sisters (maternal aunts); should the maternal aunts have no male children living at the time, then to the eldest male child of his sisters. When no relatives are to be found, the property of the deceased goes to the ruler of the country; or if a man dies leaving no relative other than wife and children, *i.e.* no relatives on the mother's side, the property in this case also goes to the ruler, who, as the wife and children cannot preserve the ashes of the deceased, takes charge of them, and for so doing takes all the property also. With regard to the inhabitants of the Lower Hills at Shellá, the custom as to succession is as follows:—'Property belonging to a subject of Shellá is divided into two classes—(1) Property inherited from ancestors, which descends to the nearest of kin or to the relative of a deceased person who can perform his obsequies. (2) Property acquired during the lifetime of the holder, which is inherited by the children, whose duty it is to provide for the maintenance of their mother until she re-marries or dies.'

434 465 MATERIAL CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.—The Khásiás and the Syntengs are as a people prosperous. Common labourers, if adult males, can earn wages as high as one shilling per diem, and adult 342 females as high as eightpence. The dwellings of the well-to-do classes are generally constructed of masonry, with thatched roof and 352 plank floor, and divided into two or three rooms. The furniture consists of a bedstead (*charpái*), a seat or two (*morá*), some cooking utensils, and a few boxes. The ordinary peasants and poorer 342 classes construct their huts of stone, mud, or plank walls, with a 184 thatch or cane roof. These are fitted with wooden platforms or loose planks placed on the ground to serve as beds. The food 262 of the well-to-do classes consists of rice, fish when obtainable, fowl 434 or meat, curry, vegetables, oil, hog's lard, fermented and spirituous liquor. It may be estimated that the living expenses of an average-sized household of this class would be about Rs. 25 or £2, 10s. a month, valuing the articles of consumption at *bázár* prices. An ordinary husbandman or labourer lives on rice, dry fish, occasionally a 276 little meat, oil, or hog's lard. *Pán* leaf, betel-nut, and lime are essential to the comfort of all the hill people, who are inveterate chewers of *pán*. They commence at an early age, and are rarely seen without a *pán* leaf in their mouths; the females are quite

21: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

on a historical past, different from that of the Khasi proper, the former having been ruled by the powerful, but somewhat Hinduised dynasty of the Jaintia Rajas until the Jaintia Wars of the British; the latter by small independent chiefs. Yet Jaintia social organization appears on the whole to preserve the matrilineal social structure clearer and to be less influenced by plains-acculturation, than that of the Khasi, though a few features of Brahmanical religious observances and also some traces of racial admixture are found in the immediate vicinity of Jowei, the former summer residence of the Jaintia Rajas. Stronger no doubt, than this influence, was that exercised by the British and non-Assamese Indians in the provincial capital Shillong since 1866. Methods of agriculture and other aspects of material civilization differ but little in the Jaintia- and Khasi plateau-areas.

The same cannot be said of both: the Wâr-Khasi and Wâr-Jaintias. Linguistically their affiliations are with the Khasi or Jaintias respectively, in the plateau-areas. Economically, however, both Wâr-groups form a separate pan-leaf cultivating unit in the little accessible steep southern slopes of the Khasi- and Jaintia Hill massif. Both Wâr-groups live in the environment of luscious tropical flora and fauna, sharply differentiated from the cool, barren plateau with its perennial winds and the heroic, if solitary beauty of its highland heaths, which forms the background of both the Khasi- and Jaintia plateau-groups.

The age of the Wâr-Khasi and -Jaintias, as one independent economic, — and two half-independent dialectical linguistic entities, is an intricate problem. The two Wâr-groups subsist on pan-leaf cultivation as a money crop, grown in the thick tree-gardens as creepers; not on food-cultivation, as do the plateau-groups, because there is insufficient space on the steep slopes, for vegetable gardens or -fields. The pan-leaf cultivators therefore depend on food, purchased from outside. The slopes seem to have been uninhabited until not long ago. Yet pan-leaf chewing is such an integral part of Khasi life, that until quite recently, and occasionally even now, a distance between two places is not measured by the number of hours used for walking, but by the number of betelnut- and pan-leaf packages, consumed on the way. Also the common benediction among Khasi expresses the wish that so and so may eat pan in the Garden of God. Yet pan-cultivation and the settlements of the Wâr-people as pan-leaf cultivators in the southern slopes seem comparatively young. Pan-cultivation on the plateau is impracticable. It is therefore possible that pan was for a long time only a much valued import article from the plains, bartered against Khasi ore and iron tools, though it is now an export article from the Wâr-country, brought to the markets of the plains, by both Wâr-Khasi and Wâr-Jaintia women and men.

According to a tradition, across which I came among the Nonglamin clan of the Nongmuker village, the ancestors of the present Wâr people were on the plateau at a time when no pan-cultivation was going on in the slopes and none of the present big estates of pan-tree gardens was yet held by their present (Wâr-) owners. A not distant ancestor of a Nonglamin clan-member who about two or three generations ago told the story to U Siang (one of

21: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

my informants at Padu), in the year 1933, is said to have begun the cultivation of yam (*shnïw*) and millets (*knei*) in the then uncultivated slopes. He and his people used to be, on this account, ridiculed as monkeys (*shrieh*). The Nonglamin clan took later to pan-leaf-, and arecanut-cultivation and became one of the richest landowners of the Wár-country. Others followed and imitated them. This clan (*kur*) is now residing at Nongtalang, about ten miles east of Padu in the Wár-Jaintia slopes.

This possibility of a comparatively recent origin of the now economically independent Wár-groups among the Khasi speaking peoples is of importance to the question of some different terms in kinship terminology which the following lists will show.

Comments on other features in the relationship terminology, bearing on sociological or historical problems of either among the four Khasi speaking groups under discussion, are being hinted at in the text of the lists itself and further discussed in Part Three of the present paper, following the lists of kinship terms.

II. The List of the Kinship Terms

(*u* is the definite article masc. gen. ; *ka* — the definite article fem. gen. Both are prefixed to proper nouns and then assume the meaning and function of the English Mr. and Mrs. [or Miss] respectively.)

No.	English	Plateau Khasi	Wâr Khasi	Pnâr (Jaintia)	Wâr Jaintia
1.	To give birth or beget :	*kha* (noun : *jyng kha*)	*kha*	*kha*	*dihun*
1/*a*.	To give birth to a girl :	*kha kynthei*	*kha kynthei*	*kha kynthai*	*dihun kynthah* (*kinthai*)
1/*b*.	To give birth to a boy :	*kha shynrang*	*kha shynrang*	*kha shynrang*	*dhun tyrma* (*tyrmai*)
1/*c*.	To give birth twins :	*kha synrap*	*kha bynrap*	*kha synrap* (or : *arngot*)	*dihun brap*
2.	Child :	*khynnah* (with *u* and *ka* respectively)	*khun* (or : *khunlung*) (*u* and *ka*)	*khyn bo* (with *u* and *ka*)	*kimbot* (with *u* and *ka*)
2 *a*.	Childhood :	*ka jinglong khunlung*	*ka jinglong khunlung*	*ka porkhynnah*	*ka kymbollung*
3.	Puberty of a girl or boy :	*sdang samla* (or : *khynraw*)	*jan samla*	*sdang khyllud*	*khynrong darow*
3/*a*.	Marriageable girl :	*ka samla* (or : *khynraw*)	*ka samla* (or : *khynraw*)	*ka khyllud*	*ka darow*
3/*b*.	Marriageable man :	*u samla* (or : *khynraw*)	*u sahla* (or : *khynraw*)	*u khynro*	*u darow*
4.	Woman :	*ka* (or : *ka kynthei*)	*ka* (or : *ka kynthei*)	*ka kynthai*	*ka* (or : *ka kyntha rangbah*)
5.	Man :	*u* (or : *u shynrang*)	*u* (or : *u shynrang*)	*u* (or : *u chynrang*)	*u* (or : *u tyrmu rangbah*)
6.	Article of respect : *i* (instead *u* or *ka*)	for both sexes is a term of diminution : used as honorific prefix ; but has a contemptuous meaning in the Jaintia dialects			
	Parents :				
7.	Mother :	*i mei* (-addressing) ; *kmie* (-referring)	*i mei* ; — *kmie*	*ka bei*	*ka me*
8.	Father :	*i pa* (-addressing) ; *kpa* (-referring)	*i pa* ; — *kpa*	*u pa* ; *pain*	*u pa*
9.	Siblings and maternal cousins :	*para* (-referring only)	*para*	*pain*	*para*
9/*a*.	"Brethren" ; as in the phrases :	*para lum* — "Brethren Hill (tribesmen)" *para kristan* — "Christian Brethren"	— (?)	— (?)	— (?)

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No.	English	Plateau Khasi	Wâr Khasi	Pnar (Jaintia)	Wâr Jaintia
9/b.	Maternal cousins :	*para kur* (*kur* — clan)	— (?)	— (?)	— (?)
9/c.	Paternal cousins (and half-siblings through the father) :	*para kha* (*kha* — birth, or : begetting)	— (?)	— (?)	— (?)
9/d.	Older sisters, or female cousins :	*kong* (-addressing) ; *kymuen* (-referring)	*ka lih*	*paiu wa kah*	*ka iah*
9/e.	Older brother, or male cousin :	*kah* (-addressing) ; *kymuen* (-referring)	*u lih*	*u san*	*u iah kymba*
9/f.	Younger siblings and cousins (and other young folk) :	*kep* (-addressing) ; *para* (referring if matriln).	*iew*	*diah*	*bo* — sister *pun* — brother
10.	Spouses :	*kah*	*kah*	*akhew*	*kah* (or : *knang*)
10/a.	Wife :	*ka kah* "friend" (-addressing) ; *ka iaga* (-referring)	*ka kah ; ka iaga*	*ka akhew*	*ka kah ; ka knang*
10/b.	Husband :	*u kah* (-addressing) ; *u iaga* (-referring)	*u kah ; u iaga*	*u akhew*	*u kah ; u knang*
11.	Children :	*khun*	*khun*	*khon*	*kun*
11/a.	Daughter :	*ka khun*	*ka khun*	*ka khon*	*ka kun kyntu*
11/b.	First Daughter :	*khun nyngkong* (or : *phrang*, or : *skur*)	*khun nyngkong*	*ka khon wakah* — "first"	*ka kun phrang*
11/c.	Middle or younger daughters :	*khun pdeng* (or : *kadieu*)	*khun lud*	*ka khon wabud* — "second"	—
11/d.	Youngest daughter :	*khun khaddah* (or : *khieng kpoh* — "closed the womb")	*khun khyrdah*	*ka khon symbud* (or : *wabud*) — "third"	*ka kun khaddah*
11/e.	Son :	*khun*	*khun*	*khon*	*kunlyrmu*
11/f.	First son :	*khun nongkong* (or : *phrang*, or : *skur*, or : *rangbah*)	*rangbah* (or : *skur*, or : *nongkong*)	*khon wakah* — "first"	*kunlyrmu*
11/g.	Middle or younger sons :	*khun pdeng* (or : *rit* — "small, young")	*khun lud*	*khon wabud* — "second" (or : *symbud*)	*kunlyrmu phrang*
11/h.	Youngest son :	*khun khaddu*	*khun khaddu*	*khon wabud*	—

No.	English	Pnar Khasi	War Khasi	Pnar (Jaintia)	War Jaintia
	Grand parents:				
12.	Mother's mother:	*mtrad*	*mtrâd*	*ksi pun*	*mrdun*
12/a.	Mother's father:	*pasad*	*pasâd*	*pajun*	*mbilun*
12/b.	Father's mother:	*mei kha*[1]	*kaw kha*[1]	*mun*	*mmun*
12/c.	Father's father:	*pasad* (or : *pa kha*)[1]	*pasad, pasâd*	*mâ*	*mbun*
13.	Mother's sisters (and female cousins):	*kwin* (descriptive)	(?)	(?)	(?)
13/a.	Mother's elder sister:	*mei sen* (*sen* — elder)	*mei sen*	*ksi ksh*	*mei kong*
13/b.	Mother's younger sister:	*mei khyeuah* (*meiseuh*) (*khyeuah* — younger)	*mei seuh*	*ksi dish*	*mei jieng*
14.	Mother's brothers: (and male cousins):	*kki* (descriptive)	(?) *kki* is not used, but understood by War Khasi (see sub: "Husband's or wife's father" word No. 22/a in this list).		
14/a.	Mother's elder brother:	*kki* (or : *mei*) *rangkuh*	*ki kuh* (*ki kuh sien*)	*ma sen* (addressing); *kki* (referring)	*nieu kong*
14/b.	Mother's younger brother:	*khyeuah* (or : *ma khyeuah*)	*ki kuh did*	*ma dish* (addressing)	*kshjen, nieu dish*
15.	Father's sisters (e. and y.):	*kia kha*	*kia kha* (elder : *pa sen*, or : *kha rangkuh*) (younger : *da*, or : *khyeuah*)	elder : *kia sen* younger : *nia rait*	elder : *pa sen* or : *pa kong* younger : *nji*[2] *mara*[3]
15/a.	Father's brothers and cousins:	*kpa kha*[1] (descriptive)	(?)	(?)	(?)
15/b.	Father's elder brother:	*pa sen*	*pa sen* or : (*nji*)[2] *kuh*	*pa sen*	*pa kong*
15/c.	Father's younger brother:	*pa khyeuah*	*pa khyeuah*, or : *pa kui*, or : *nji kuh kui*	*pa rait*	*pa jieng*

[1] The *kha* (*kpa*) refers to the paternal side of relationship.
[2] *nji* — indicates diminution and respect among Pnar (and War Khasi) like *i* among Khasi.
[3] *mara* — indicates descent ("coming from") among War Jaintia; like *kha* among Khasi.

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No.	English	Pnar Khasi	War Khasi	Pnar (Jaintia)	War Jaintia
	Mother's in-laws:				
16.	Mother's sister's husband:	*older*: *pa sau*; *younger*: *pa khynnah*	*ngi pa* (older and younger)	*older*: *pa kah*; *younger*: *pa diah*	*pa* (with *a* — *pun, jiang, diah*, accdg. age)
16/a.	Mother's brother's wife:	*dia* (older and younger)	*dia* (older and younger)	*dia*	*di*
	Father's in-laws:				
17.	Father's sister's husband:	*pakha*; address: *ma, ma-ma, di*	*bah*	*niew*	*niew man*
17/a.	Father's brother's wife:	*kmie* or *dia* (*mei sau*, or: *mei nah*)	*nia*	*muiruil*	*mei* (with *a* — *pun, jiang, diah*, accordg. to age)
18.	All nieces and nephews:	*khun* (with *ka* and *u*)	—	—	—
18/a.	nieces and nephews on maternal side:	*pyrsa* (*or*: *khun ruit* lit.: stepchild)	*para ar kmie* (with *ka* and *u*) (older — *iah*; younger — *iew*)	*pyrsa* (with *ka* and *u*) (older — *iah*; younger — *bo*)	*pyrsa* (older than Ego — *iah*; younger — *bo*) (with *ka* and *u*)
18/b.	nieces and nephews on paternal side:	*kun kha*	*bakha* (older *iah*; younger — *iew*)	*wakha* (father's sisters children: *kong wakha*, — father's brother's children: *paiu pa*)	*bakha* (with *ka* and *u*) (older) than Ego *iah*; younger — *bo*
19.	All maternal cousins and uterine siblings:	*para kur* (with *ka* and *u*) (*para* — brethren; *kur* — clan)	—	—	—
19/a.	Mother's sister's children: (marriage among them — taboo)	*para-ar-kmie* (lit.: children of two mothers)	—	—	—
20.	All paternal cousins and paternal half-siblings:	*para kha* (*para* — brethren; *kha* — begetting)	—	—	—
21.	Direct cousins:	*bakha*	—	—	—
21/a.	Mother's brother's children: (marriage with *bakha* permitted)	*bakha* (descriptive) (Ego's older — *kong* [addressing]; Ego's younger — *kep* [addressing])	*para iah* (older), (with *ka* and *u*) *para iew* (younger), (with *ka* and *u*)	*khon wakha* (with *ka* and *u*) —	*iah* (older), (with *ka* and *u*) *bo* (younger), (with *ka* and *u*)

No.	English	Plateau Khasi	War Khasi	Pnar (Jaintia)	War Jaintia
21/b.	Father's sister's children : (marriage with *bakha* permitted)	*bakha* (descriptive) (Ego's elder female — *kong* [addressing]) (Ego's elder male — *bah* [addressing]) (Ego's younger — *hep* [addressing])	*bakha lah* (older), (with *ka* and *u*) — *bakha lem* (younger), (with *ka* and *u*)	*kong wakha* (with *ka* and *u*)	*ka kha* (with *ka* and *u*)
22.	Father's brother's children : (marriage between *para kha* [children of brothers] generally not admitted)	*para kha* (Ego's elder female — *para kong* [90] [addressing]) (Ego's elder male — *para bah* [91] (addressing]) (Ego's younger — *hep* [92] [addressing])	*iah* (older), (with *ka* and *u*) *iem* (younger), (with *ka* and *u*)	*paiu pa* (with *ka* and *u*) —	*ka kha* (with *ka* and *u*)
23.	Grandchildren :	*khun ksiew* (with *ka* and *u*)	*ksiew* (with *ka* and *u*)	*ki ksu* (with *ka* and *u*)	*kynsow* (with *ka* and *u*)
23/a.	Daughter's children :	*ksiew* (with *ka* and *u*)	*ksiew*	*ksu*	*pai*
23/b.	Son's children :	*ksiew kha* (with *ka* and *u*)	*ksiew kha*	*ksu*	*kynsow*
24.	Greatgrand child (sometimes) :	*khun miaw*	—	*pakein ksu* (with *ka* and *u*)	—
25.	Great-great child (sometimes) :	*khun kwai*	—	—	—
	Ascending Lines :				
26.	Maternal elder relatives including uncles :	*u ñi u kong* (lit. maternal uncle and elder sisters, female cousins and their in-laws)	?	?	?
27.	Female ancestors on the maternal side :	*kmie rad*	*maiduh* (with *ka* and *u*)	?	*mudian* (with *ka* and *u*) *wahdian* (with *ka* and *u*)

[90–92] *kong, bah* and *hep* are not necessarily added if addressing them.

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No.	English	Plateau Khasi	Wâr Khasi	Pnâr (Jaintia)	Wâr Jaintia
28.	Male relations in ascending maternal line (i. e. mother's, grandmother's brothers, etc.) :	*khĩ*	*padu*	—	—
29.	Male relations on the father's side :	*kpa rad* (with *ka* and *u*)	*pabu* (with *ka* and *u*)	?	*wokman* (with *ka* and *u*)
30.	Female relations on the father's side :	*kmie kha* (with *ka* and *u*)	*mei kha* (with *ka* and *u*)	?	*muman* (with *ka* and *u*)
31.	All matrilineal relations :	*i kur* (with *ka* and *u*)	*i kur* (with *ka* and *u*)	?	*para kur* (with *ka* and *u*)
32.	All patrilineal relations :	*i kha* (with *ka* and *u*)	*i kha* (with *ka* and *u*)		*para phra* (with *ka* and *u*)
	Relatives of the in-laws :				
33.	Husband's or wife's mother :	*kiaw*	*kia kurim* (*kurim* — marriage) ; referring — *kia*	*kurin* ; addr. : *ki bei,*	*kia*
33/*a*.	Husband's or wife's father :	*kiaw*	*khĩ kurim* (*khĩ* maternl. uncle among plateau Khasi only)	referring : *niaw kurim* ; addr. : *ki pa*	*kiaw*
33/*b*.	Husband's or wife's older sister :	*kong kynsi*	*leh kynsi*	husband's : *ka kong kynsai* ; wife's : *ki kong* (more respectful)	*bsow* (or : *bapsow*)
33/*c*.	Husband's wife's younger sister :	*kep kynsi*	*lem*	husband's : *ka bo kynsai* ; wife's : *ka bo*	*bsow* (or : *bapsow*)
33/*d*.	Husband's wife's brothers (older and younger) :	*kynum*	*kynum*	husband's older : *ki kong* ; younger : *ki bo* ; wife's older : *u kong* ; younger : *u bo*	*bsow* (or : *bapsaw*)
33/*e*.	Husband's older sister's husband :	*u kong* (*kong* — generally a term for a female relative !)	*leh kynsi*	*ki kong*	—
33/*f*.	Husband's younger sister's husband :	*kep*	*lem kynsi*	*ki bo*	—

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No.	English	Plateau Khasi	Wâr Khasi	Pnâr (Jaintia)	Wâr Jaintia
33/g.	Husband's older brother's wife :	*kong kynsi*	*mynhew*	*ka kong*	*bo, bsow* (or : *bapsow*)
33/h.	Husband's younger brother's wife :	*kep kynsi*	*mynhew*	*ka bo*	*bo, bsow* (or : *bapsow*)
	Wife's in-laws (sep. designations) :				
34.	Wife's sister's husband :	*para shongkha* (lit. : "brother-in-marriage")	*para shong kha* (lit. : "brother-in-marriage")	older : *u kong* younger : *u bo*	—
35.	Wife's older brother's wife:	*kong* (followed by proper name)	—	—	—
35/a.	Wife's younger brother's wife :	*kep* (followed by proper name)	—	—	—
36.	Stepmother :	*mei nah, kmie nah*	*mei nah*	*ka briruit* (stepfather — *u pa*)	*ka mei*
36/a.					
37.	Family :	*ka iong — ka sem* (housestable), or : *ki khun — ki kti*, or : *ka jing — kiar — paieng*	*shi lem — shi sem*	*iung*	*shi kur — shi jaid*
38.	Clan community :	*i kur — i jaid*	*i kur — i jaid*	*ki kur*	*shi kur — shi jaid*
39.	Matrilineal clan :	*kur*	*kur*	*kur*	*kur*
40.	Nation (national) :	(*ka*) *jaid*	*jaid kynja*	—	*jaid kynja*
41.	Assamese mountain people :	*para 'riew lum* (*lum* — hill, mountain)	*para 'riew lum*	*bru lum* (*bru* — humans)	*para ju prow pdeng* (*prow* — humans)
42.	Foreigner :	*ki 'nong iwi* (*shnong* — village ; *iwi* — one)	—	—	—
43.	Plainspeople (contemptive) :	*dkhar*	*dkhar*	*dkhar*	*dkhar*
43/a.	Britishers :	*ki nong parang* (or : *bilat*)	*ki nong pareng*	*ki nong pareng*	*ki nong pareng*
43/b.	Indians :	*dkhar long* (*long* — black)	?	?	?
43/c.	Europeans :	*dkhar li* (*li* — white)	?	?	?

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